

The Sun

FOR 1888.

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UNITED DEMOCRACY.

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THE SUN,

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THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1888.

The Democracy of New York City.

We published some time since an article showing the present demoralization and disaffection of the Republican party in the city of New York, and its utter inability to successfully engage, as at present constituted, in the momentous Federal, State, and municipal struggles of 1888. During the past week both divisions of the New York Democracy have completed the details of their respective organizations, chosen their officers and arranged the preliminaries of the campaign. The two German organizations, the German-American Democrats and the Independent German-American Citizens, have also settled upon plans for the amalgamation of both into one strong body, so that there will be room in the Democratic ranks for every voter, and he will find himself always sooting with party friends, whatever local or district distinctions may exist.

Prior to 1870, to go back no further in the history of our politics, the Democratic majority in the city of New York was subject always to grave local division. There was on one hand Tammany Hall with the most influential and popular ward and district leaders, the most patronage, and the largest following. There were, on the other hand, a number of guerrilla factions, having, here and there, considerable strength, but independent of any superior authority, without discipline, without responsibility, and quite capable on occasions or from necessity of selling out the national or State ticket in contests of closeness and importance. As the National and State Conventions recognized Tammany Hall as the only regular Democratic organization, the leaders of the opposing Democratic factions could do generally as they pleased, and that was usually what they did.

In the number of these factions was the MORRIS Hall Democracy, of which MORRIS WOOD was the founder; the DEMOCRATIC Union, which owed its origin to JOHN MORRIS; the Young Democracy, with LEWIS and FOX at its head; and the German-American Union. On the break-up of the Tammany Ring in 1871, Apollo Hall took its rise, then followed, in turn, as minority Democratic factions, the New York Democracy, Anti-Tammany, and finally Irving Hall. Tammany broke, in 1879, its record for regularity by bolting the Democratic nominee for governor and putting up JOHN KATZ for the office.

This opened the door for a change, and since 1880 Tammany Hall and the County Democracy have divided, and pretty evenly divided, the city Democracy, both organizations being accounted regular, each acknowledging the rights of the other, and both subject to the authority of the State Convention, to which each sends delegates. During these years Irving Hall, from being a modest but compact party, has gradually shrunk and shrunk, till the Democratic State Convention of 1887 shut the door in its face, since which time it may be said to have about gone out of existence as a Democratic faction.

At the present time the whole New York Democracy, 150,000 strong, may be said to be included within the folds of the two great organizations, or to form part of the Democratic Union. The advantage of such union, such combination, and such responsibility can scarcely be overestimated, and it puts the party, freed from the menace and liability of independent, irresponsible, or treacherous leadership, in an almost impregnable position for the great fight of this year.

The details of this situation, as they appear in the different Assembly districts, are fully explained in an article which will be found in another part of this paper, and to which we refer the interested reader.

Peace, Peace, But There is No Peace.

Notwithstanding the reassuring declarations incessantly exchanged between diplomatists, nobody seems much impressed by them, and the Continental Stock Exchanges remain in an extremely tense and feverish condition. The truth is that, if we look at the facts rather than the optimistic tenor of official comments, we must see that the situation is no less serious than it was before the interview of Prince BISMARCK with the Czar.

The authors and manipulators of the forged letters are not only unpunished, but were to profit by those documents, although at first shaken by the German Chancellor's disclosures, has regained its former ascendancy. Indeed, its leaders were singled out for particular distinction when honors and decorations were distributed on the Russian New Year's Day, while Mr. DE GERS, who doubts the wisdom of fighting the three central powers, got nothing. Moreover, Russian emissaries are again becoming active in the Balkan peninsula, and within the last few weeks there have been two attempts to excite mutinies in Bulgaria. But the cumulative evidence furnished by such incidents as is nothing compared to the concentration of Russian troops on the confines of Posen and Galicia, which, in spite of round denials or evasive explanations, is steadily going on.

There is no doubt about the fact, or about the ominous significance, since the publication of the exact figures on Tuesday of this week in the Berlin *Mittler-Wochenblatt*. It compares the Russian forces now collected within the frontier provinces, in close proximity to the Posen and Galician frontier, with the combined German and Austrian forces in the provinces lying on the west of the same boundary. The disproportion is enormous. Germany has but 98,200 men and 888 field guns, and Austria, which probably is more directly menaced, only 88,000 men and 160 guns. On the other hand, Russia has disposable within striking distance no less than 215,000 men, with 680 field guns. That is to say, the Czar has considerably

more than twice as many men ready for an aggressive movement.

Now, why has Russia, whose impoverished exchequer can ill afford the expense attending the transportation of a vast body of men, chosen the present time for placing an immense army on her western border? That is a question which none of the sanguine diplomatists is able to answer. It cannot be for defensive purposes, since nobody accuses the central powers of intending an attack upon their Russian neighbor. The demonstration, therefore, must be construed as a declaration that Russia will no longer be trifled with. It is a peremptory challenge, by which the Western powers are summoned either to settle once for all the Bulgarian dispute or face the alternative of early war. But what sort of a settlement would be accepted by the Pan-Slavic party, now apparently restored to power at St. Petersburg?

In the first place, it is manifest that Prince FREDERICK of Coburg would have to leave Sofia, since not even Austria, and much less Germany, has ever recognized his title to reign. Secondly, the selection of a successor to the throne must be arranged either according to the secret compact between Austria and Russia which preceded the outbreak of the last war with Turkey, or else in rigorous compliance with the treaty of Berlin. If according to the secret agreement, Austria would continue to hold Bosnia and the Herzegovina, and Russia would be permitted to designate the ruler of Bulgaria. If strictly according to the text of the treaty, then the Czar's Ministry would say: Let Austria retire from the two provinces which she is only suffered to occupy under conditions which no longer exist, and let Eastern Roumelia, instead of taking part in Bulgarian elections, be restored to Turkey in conformity with the provisions of the treaty. Still, in pursuance of the letter of the treaty, let executive authority in Bulgaria be committed to such a prince as shall be selected by the Sorbonne and approved by all the treaty powers. Pending the perhaps difficult fulfillment of this last condition, let the province be administered by an international Commission in which all the treaty powers shall be represented.

That is what Russia understands by a faithful execution of the Berlin treaty. It must either wholly stand or wholly fall. The central powers may take their choice. But the Czar, at all events, will no longer play the fool. That is apparently the meaning of the mighty armament assembled on his western frontier.

The New Postmaster-General and the Public.

There is no doubt that Mr. DICKINSON will make a good Postmaster-General. He is a man of affairs, with a clear head and uncommon energy. His capacity for executive management is abundantly attested by those who know him well.

Mr. DICKINSON is too sensible a man not to perceive that in so small a matter as the change of the color of the two-cent postage stamp he can gratify the desires of a great majority of the press and the people without sacrificing in the slightest degree either his own official dignity or that of the Department. The return to the brown stamp will involve no unpleasant admission of error on the part of the Post Office authorities, no discredit back-down under the pressure of outside opinion. Both the brown color and the pale green have been tried, and the people unquestionably prefer the brown. Mr. DICKINSON has only to say the word, and brown it is henceforth.

The good taste of the new Postmaster-General will probably determine this question; but if Mr. DICKINSON is at all in doubt he has only to consult at random half a dozen gentlemen in whose opinion as matters of aesthetics he may have confidence. They need not necessarily be artists or professional experts in the science of taste. It will be quite sufficient if Mr. DICKINSON takes the opinion of such persons as he would be satisfied to consult on any private question of aesthetic propriety.

We shall now briefly refer to the only arguments that, so far as we are aware, have been advanced from any quarter in favor of retaining the pale green stamp. They are two in number.

Somebody has said that the two-cent stamp, the unit of letter postage, ought to be green because that was the color of the old three-cent stamp used before the reduction in the rate of postage. True, the then stamp was green, but at the time when the new brown two-cent stamp superseded it, but before that for many years the three-cent stamp had been red—different shades of red at different periods in the history of the Department. Moreover, the green of the three-cent stamp that went out of use in 1883 was a very different green from the sickly green of the present stamp. It was deeper, richer, far more satisfactory to the eye. Anybody can prove this for himself by hunting up an envelope four or five years old and comparing the cancelled stamp thereon with the sickly green stamp of to-day. The design has been changed, shield, lettering, head of WASHINGTON, and all; and the color has been degraded from really good green to the pale, unhealthy, diluted hue that is now the cause of such general dissatisfaction. For green, as against red, brown, terra cotta, or any other color, there is absolutely no argument in precedent, in Department traditions, or in historical sentiment.

The second plea to which we refer hardly deserves serious attention. It was originally put forth, we believe, by Mr. GEORGE A. HOWARD, the Department clerk who claims the responsibility for the recent change from brown to sickly green. In a reported interview, that gentleman intimated or tried to give the impression that there was some international significance in the change to green. That is pure demagogism. Here and there an ill-informed person or newspaper, citing cue from Mr. HOWARD, urges that the Government compliments Ireland by substituting her green for the red of England. You might as well say that the removal of Mr. HOWARD, day before yesterday, from his desk in the Post Office, and his transfer to the Interior Department, is a compliment to Ireland and a rebuke to England because it takes off of the Post Office rolls a name peculiarly and anciently identified with English history.

Nothing could be more ridiculous or more insulting than this attempt to smother Irish patriotism to the support of the sickly green stamp. In the first place, the old color was not the red of England; and in the second place, the present color of the green of Ireland into the choice of a hue for postage stamps, and even if self-respecting Irishmen cared to fix their national color upon an object that is licked and stamped upon millions of times every day in the year, how could they feel gratified at the selection of such a travesty of green as this? Eyes that kindle with enthusiasm at the sight of the beautiful emerald banner of the beautiful Emerald Island must always rest with disgust upon the sickly two-cent stamp, stained a weak green with a pigment apparently composed of chalk dust and spinach juice.

The transfer of Mr. HOWARD to the In-

terior Department, with larger responsibilities and an increased salary, removes the last obstacle to the immediate correction of his well-meant but unfortunate mistake. He is now engaged in other business than the selection of colors for postage stamps. Superior authority in the Post Office need no longer delay the change out of regard to his official feelings. The people hope and expect that the sickly green days are about over, and that Postmaster-General DICKINSON will speedily give them back the satisfactory brown two-cent postage stamp.

The Death Sentence.

The three gentlemen appointed by the Legislature to consider the subject of the methods of carrying out the death sentence have made a voluminous report, of which the conclusion is that the most merciful way of putting people to death is by electricity.

Very possibly that is the case, for the electric current kills instantly, and if it were desirable, in the interests of society, that the horrors of an execution should be reduced to a minimum, it is quite likely that no better means of killing could be chosen. If the purpose of capital punishment was simply to destroy the lives of men condemned to death, to that end, of course the State should only concern itself to find the quickest and the easiest method of destruction, whether it be by chloroform, hitting them on the head with an axe, as oxen are slaughtered, or the application of an electric current; and if they were to be despatched in the most merciful way possible, they could easily be killed while they were sleeping.

But the theory on which capital punishment is defended is that it should excite terror among evildoers, and that the purpose of society in killing murderers is not merely to get them out of the way, but to frighten other people from murdering. When, therefore, these Commissioners propose to lessen the horrors of an execution and to make it a simple cold-blooded killing, in the secrecy of a prison, and at a time kept secret from the public, do they not propose to take away the reason for a punishment which in itself is so repugnant to the feelings of men?

They would have the condemned man slain by electricity, "without previous announcement of the day or hour of the execution," and would forbid all newspapers from publishing any report of the proceeding "beyond the statement of the fact that such convict was, on the day in question, duly executed, according to law, at the prison." An event of so great importance and of such terrible significance as the judicial execution of an individual they would have passed over by the newspapers as if it were an incident of slight relative consequence.

The most awful work done by society is this killing of men for the satisfaction of justice, and therefore if it is done at all, it should be made known to society in all its horrible details, so that an execution may be always an impressive event in the minds of the whole public. If such publicity is dangerous and demoralizing, the remedy is not in the secrecy of executions proposed by these cranky Commissioners, but in the abolition of capital punishment altogether. As to the shock to humanity, too, it is not in the method of the killing, but in the killing itself, whatever the method.

In fine, so far as it has any value at all, the only value of this tedious and most revolting report to the Legislature is as an argument against capital punishment.

Still a Kind of a Village.

A curious survival of the village epoch of New York history is the corporation ordinance which devolves upon individual householders the cleaning of the sidewalks in front of their houses. The sidewalk is as much a part of the public highway as the roadway is, and there is no better reason for requiring the adjacent property owners to take charge of it than there is for requiring them to clean and repair the roadway. In the days when the pigs were the public scavengers, when buckets and hand engines constituted the city fire extinguishing apparatus, and when the streets were lighted by oil lanterns hung from the fronts of the houses, it was all well enough to place the sidewalks and the pavements, too—under the charge of the individual citizen of the immediate neighborhood; but now that we have a regular Street Cleaning Department, it is time that its jurisdiction included the sidewalks also. The work would be better and more speedily done than it is now, and at less aggregate expense.

On Tuesday evening, for example, the snow ceased falling soon after dark, and was then in a condition to be easily removed. The next morning found some sidewalks cleared, but upon more the snow had frozen into ice and defied the shovel and the broom. Had the public authorities taken the job in hand in season and pressed into their service the little army of boys who upon such occasions go from house to house soliciting work, all the sidewalks might have been made free and clear by 9 o'clock Tuesday evening, and the inconvenience to the public would have been avoided.

We commend this subject to Mayor HAWKINS as a topic for one of his forthcoming reform messages.

Fighting the Real Enemy.

The Atlanta Constitution is opposed to free trade on principle, and many of the ablest journals of the New South go with it. In this contest the Constitution is striking its hardest blows at the Whiskey Power, the great combine in which the whole whiskey distilling industry of the country is united, and which boldly aims to rule the Democracy and dictate the legislation of the land.

The first purpose of this mighty organization is to maintain the internal revenue system as it stands. The tax on spirits especially is to be kept up without change. If that tax should be abolished or seriously reduced, thousands of new distilling concerns might start up, and the monopoly which the Trust is to live upon might be shaken and possibly overthrown. Accordingly this tax must be continued, and the duties on imported goods must be taken off, letting in English manufactures more freely; and against both of these propositions our valued contemporary in Atlanta is waging its most vigorous warfare.

The Whiskey Power is our greatest promoter of free trade.

The polar bear from Greenland and the hippopotamus from the tropics seem to thrive in this latitude; but that most interesting animal, the gorilla, pines and dies. It would be a fortune to any showman if he could exhibit in this country a satisfactory specimen of the gorilla, even if his accomplishments did not equal those of his unexported brethren whose roar, according to travellers, can be heard for four miles, and who can twist a gun barrel into a knot. Many hopes were based upon the promising young gorilla which was recently taken to London to adorn the Zoological Gardens, but though he took kindly to civilized ways and learned to feed himself with vegetables, according to reports, he died, and a few weeks ago he departed this life without any personal consolation from the obituary notices published after his demise.

Among the most noted collections of animals in the world, the finest, without doubt, is the

private collection of a retired potentate. The late King of Oude, retired, left on the banks of the Hooghly, near Calcutta, 20,000 lively specimens of animals, to be used in the zoo. His retired Majesty found his greatest pleasure in watching the gastronomical feats of his large zoological family. Frugal Indians who thought Bengal tigers and elephants might better be foraging for a living in the jungles than living on the bounty of an emerald monarch, regarded his Majesty as a hopeless crank with a harmless, but very expensive hobby. His menagerie not only devoured the most of his enormous income, but also ate its way through all the money he could borrow, and he died heavily in debt, leaving his animals, it is supposed, to be divided among his creditors.

Mr. BARNUM will have much trouble in restocking his cages, for he would have had in the days when the hippopotamus was first transplanted to Europe. The unfortunate Nubian chief who at that time received an order to produce at Calcutta these pachydermated products of Africa was painfully conscious that if he failed to appear before the British monarch, his head would lose his head, and this fact was all that drove him to the difficult and disagreeable task. The catching of the river horse has now been reduced to a science, and animals of all sorts can be supplied at catalogue rates to any showman or fancier who desires the dealer with some order. It is said that the late King of Oude's collection was much more stable than those of many other potentates, but it is likely that a few bonfires like that which illumined Bridgeport a while ago would have a tendency to send quotations upward.

Menageries have exceedingly modest budgets, and the brilliant and costly zoological shows of the London Zoological Gardens contained only a few lions and tigers, we have reason to hope that in time the collection now quartered in Central Park, and soon, we trust, to be removed elsewhere, will rival the present magnificent show in Regent's Park. Many interesting animals would have been added to the Central Park menagerie by the means that the French employed to give the Jardin des Plantes a start. The forests were made to contribute a large contingent of wild boars, bears, wolves, and other animals of the temperate zone. The collection grew during the reign of Terror by the fact that would not be committed to the tender mercies of the Revolutionists seized many travelling shows on the pretext that they blocked the highways and scared the horses, and thus an assortment of trained beasts was added to the national menagerie in Paris, where they speedily forgot all their accomplishments.

The London collection, which is now in London, have recently been made happy by a large number of contributions that did not come from abroad. Among these are a baby yak, a little kangaroo, Mesopotamian and Japanese fawns, to say nothing of Indian pigeons and American thrushes that have been bringing their young as merrily as in the freedom of their own homes.

Mr. DANIEL DOUGHERTY has been talking a good deal of sense up at Albany in his address to the Bar Association of New York. He affirms that the time-honored position that whither you went it was on trial before the jury and the newspapers ought not to comment upon the case for the purpose of influencing either the Judge or the jury. Every attempt to overawe the Court or affect the conclusions of the jury under such circumstances is wrong and worthy only of condemnation.

The case of the *Leviathan* rule in the *Sun* office; and it has been observed.

The campaign for the appointment of a new Judge of the Court of Appeals, as it has been conducted in the columns of our esteemed contemporary, the *New York Times*, is rather funny. First, we learned that the candidate had been positively determined that Mr. J. C. GRAY, a practicing lawyer of this city, should be promoted to this great office, Governor HILL's assent having already been secured. Since then nearly a fortnight has elapsed, and Mr. GRAY's name has not come to the Senate; but the law is not so simple as that. Other candidates are talked of, JOHN CULLEN of Brooklyn, Mr. WILLIAM C. DE WITT of that city, an accomplished and able lawyer, and Mr. W. B. HONNOLD, all mentioned by the *Times* as possible Judges of our highest court. From all of which we infer that the Governor's purpose has not yet been revealed to the Times or to any of the gentlemen who propose to have him execute their will, and we dare say he is quite likely to appoint somebody on whom the *Times* has not yet bestowed its attention.

Governor Hill and the Veterans Soldiers.

From the Grand Army Review.

Gov. DAVID B. HILL of New York appointed on Dec. 27 Capt. George H. Blackburn of Wells-Village, Allegany county, and Col. Halbert S. Westbrook of Seneca Falls, to be the Veterans Soldiers' and Sailors' Home at Bath, to succeed Jonathan Hobbs and Gen. W. F. Rogers, recently deceased.

Col. Westbrook served in the Forty-eighth Congress, to which he was returned by another vote, and it is not surprising that he is so much higher in the estimation of his comrades of the Grand Army.

Capt. George H. Blackburn, who lost an arm in defence of the nation, is an able lawyer, and Westbrook is a well-known figure in the Grand Army of the Republic. The story was told in attendance at the department camp at Tammany Hall, New York city, in 1885, as a member of the Senior Vice-Department Commander.

Well, does Governor honors could not be more fittingly conferred upon him than by the Extra-Since going to press with our regular edition we learn that the Hon. David B. Hill, Governor of New York, has appointed Daniel E. Sisk of New York and Major George H. Blackburn of Wells-Village, Seneca county, to be the Veterans Soldiers' and Sailors' Home at Bath, to succeed Jonathan Hobbs and Gen. W. F. Rogers, recently deceased.

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